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The Christian Socialist

The Golden Rule Against the Rule of Gold

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The Survival of the Fittest

By S. H. Swift, Washta, Iowa

The Apostle Paul declares that "love of money is the root of all evil," which is only another way of saying that all sin has its root in selfishness; and the history of the world is good evidence that Paul knew what he was talking about.

The doctrine of the "survival of the fittest" is the doctrine of supreme selfishness, the doctrine of the capital I, or extreme individualism. It is not a new thing. The first individualist was the second man whoever lived on this earth—Cain, "who was of that wicked one and slew his own brother, and wherefore slew he him? Because his own works were evil and his brother's righteous." And from the lips of this first murderer, and first individualist, we hear these words, which for six thousand years have been the plea of the selfish man: "Am I my brother's keeper?" Cain's own works were evil and his brother's righteous, and yet he slew his brother and not only survived himself, but his descendants helped to populate the earth. And that's the way the "survival of the fittest" has always worked out. It is the brutal and the cunning who survive and the good who perish.

Goaded on by selfishness, a man may sneak up behind his brother in a dark night and smash his head with a brick, and yet the one who is murdered may be stronger both mentally and physically than the one who survives. Is that a "survival of the fittest?" Just as much so as it is for a man who is more cunning and unscrupulous to run his neighbor out of business or out of a job through the methods of competition.

Under the present system it is, of course, the fighting who survive, and also with common sense that the fighter is the fittest, when Jesus Christ, the only perfect man, was a non-resistant?

Some well-meaning people, knowing that it is not necessarily the strong man, mentally or physically, and certainly not the man of high ideals, who survives under such a system, have been tricked into believing that it is the fittest for the environment that survive. This is only a cunningly devised theory to fool the public. It is the system that creates the environment and none are able or "fit" to survive in such an environment. Brutal and tricky men are continually crowding out honest men and men of high ideals and if the system continues conditions must get worse instead of better.

Taft says, "Individualism carried to the extreme is anarchy," and men of the present generation are carrying it to the extreme. On every hand we hear that old question of Cain's, although, perhaps, couched in different language. "The survival of the fittest" is only another way of putting it. It is only a scheme of the selfish man to dodge responsibility for his wicked acts. He wants to squeeze his little brother and have a good excuse for doing it. "Survival of the fittest" is not a good excuse, but it goes with those who let others do their thinking for them.

Herbert Spencer, lauded by some "hero" worshippers as the wisest man of his age, goes so far with his theory of individualism that he does not believe in the public school, because under a public school system men who have no children may have to help educate the children of others. Proudhon said that all property was robbery. Spencer takes him up on that and says that if a man could not own property he would have no property in the food he ate and consequently would not own himself. No doubt Spencer thought that was a clincher, but it wasn't. That's the idea, exactly. "Ye are bought with a price and ye are not your own." "No man liveth unto himself." What we are is largely the result of what others have done for us and every man owes it to humanity, for value received, to do what he can for others and make the best of himself that he may be of service to his fellow men. On the other hand, the world owes us all the opportunity to live and to reap the fullest enjoyment possible from this life without infringing on the happiness of others.

But someone says: "Look at the development of animal and plant life under the survival of the fittest." Yes, look at it! As with mankind, in animal life it is the fighter who survives and who leaves the most descendants (in the wild state) and, as with mankind, the fighter is nearly always a scrub. This represents anarchy, or individualism. It is only under the experienced breeder (a state that represents law and order) that we get the best development of animal life. It is the same with plant life. There must be law and order. If left to itself the earth will grow thorns and briers, the same as it will grow scrubby men and scrubby cattle without organized effort on the part of mankind. God is not doing it all Himself. He put man here to have dominion over animals and plants and to make the best of them and He gave a rule by which men can improve himself, but it was not the "law" of the "survival of the fittest," it was the law of brotherly kindness, the Golden Rule.

The men of the past generation have worshipped this frightful monster of individualism and have fed their little children to it. They have given themselves to it, body and soul, and it has ground them to powder. This great monster has reached out its slimy arms and fastened its tenacles on everything in sight. It has organized all industries in the hands of a few and by the inventions of labor saving machinery is forcing men out of employment to starve. It is selfishness, the "survival of the fittest," that has robbed man of his birthright, the land. The earth was made for all, but it has been taken from us until, like our Elder Brother, "we have nowhere to lay our heads." It is selfishness that causes wars, murders, famine, pestilence and every crime that was ever committed by man. Selfishness is the arch-enemy of God and man, it is the great red dragon of Revelations, it is the spirit of anti-Christ "that was to come into the world, and is already here." I charge this frightful monster with the blood of all the prophets and martyrs which has been shed from the foundation of the world, from the blood of righteous Abel unto the blood of the little children who are ground to death in the sweatshops of New York and Chicago.

A TWELVE-HEARTED HERO

By E. H. Thomas, State Secretary

A Socialist official often finds some of his duties far from pleasant. This has been the experience of the Social-Democratic sheriff of Milwaukee county, who entered his office with the beginning of the new year.

One of the duties of the sheriff's office is to seize furniture bought on the installment plan, which is forfeited because the payments have not been kept up. One of the new Social-Democratic deputy sheriffs was sent out last week on an errand of this sort. He soon telephoned in that the family from whom he must take the furniture was in distress, that the father of the family had been suffering from typhoid fever and had been out of work for many weeks. The Socialist deputy said he would rather throw up his position than to seize this furniture.

The sequel of the story was that the Social-Democratic sheriff went down into his own pocket and the furniture was saved to the needy family.

Now here arises a very serious problem. Given the present system, which cannot be abolished this year nor next year, and there must be "down and outs," men and women physically, mentally or morally unfit to compete with their stronger fellows. What shall we do with them?

Shall we leave the offices touching the lives of these poor people in the hands of hard and dishonest old party politicians?

Or shall we fill these offices with Socialists who will mitigate as far as possible the application of the [illegible]m to these unfortunates?

The unfortunates themselves would certainly answer the latter question in the affirmative. When the Social-Democrats carried Milwaukee county, among the mass of congratulations received, one of the most touching was from the prisoners in the jail. They reached their hands through the gratings and eagerly shook hands with the new Socialist sheriff, expressing their gratification at his election. And in fact they had cause to be pleased. Our Socialist sheriff is giving the prisoners better food than they had under old party rule. He has abolished the grafting system by which the sheriff could line his own pockets at the expense of the fare of his prisoners. In many ways, they are more humanely treated, as for instance, they are not subjected to the humiliation of handcuffs when taken to court.

So long as the system turns out these delinquents and deficients, it is better that they should be in the hands of those who will treat them like fellowmen.

MACPHERSON AT ST. PAUL'S

At St. Paul's, Prairie avenue and Thirtieth street, the principal Universalist Church of Chicago, Rev. Walter H. MacPherson, assistant minister, is delivering a series of addresses each Sunday night until Easter on "The Social Spirit and Modern Prophets." Rev. MacPherson is an earnest Socialist and a brilliant speaker.

THE SONG

By Nancy Parker, Chicago

Oh, could I sing of what mankind is dreaming!
Or rather how he wakens from his sleep;
Love's blessed sunlight in his blind eyes streaming
At last has roused him from his slumber deep.
His dream no haunting horror of the night,
But vision glowing in the morning light.

Oh, could I sing of what mankind is dreaming,
Of that new faith which speaks in kindly deed,
When nature's storehouse with sweet plenty teeming
Shall stand with open door to each one's need.
A faith which sees not heaven in the skies,
But makes of this fair earth a paradise.

Oh, could I sing of what mankind is dreaming,
Of that deep love which says all life is good,
When man with rapture from his glad eyes beaming
Shall know the joy of loving brotherhood.
Could I but sing one strain of that glad song
The notes would echo from earth's mighty throng.

LET'S UP AND AT 'EM

By W. Harry Speers, Editor of the Socialist Co-operative Press, Findlay, Ohio.

Today the doors of an American bastile opened and into its loathsome depths went a young man willingly and freely into that foul cell went one of the noblest of men that the world has known. He has never led an armed revolt; he has never commanded an armada; his is not the name of the modern politician; his is not the name that has rung the changes of a modern stock market; but his is the name, and he is one who will long be remembered, loved and honored by every man, woman and child who is forced to labor for their daily existence.

Fred D. Warren, who today enters Fort Scott jail in the state of Kansas to serve six months, and who pays a fine of $1,500, and whose case has taken nearly four years to decide at an expense to Warren of nearly $20,000, is a young man scarcely past his thirtieth year.

Outside of that other big-hearted friend of the laboring man, Eugene V. Debs, who has also served six months in Woodstock jail because he dared to stand for the working class, and three times was honored by the workers of America as their choice as nominee for President of the United States, we doubt if there is another whose name is on the lips of as many as that of Fred D. Warren today.

This young man is one whom those who are in close touch with him, know him personally, know his private and business life, state that he is one against whom there is not a word to be said or a blemish to be found. His life has been given for years in the interest of the downtrodden humanity of the world. Reared and educated in the pure, sweet air, undefiled with modern capitalistic congestion, on the boundless western prairie, beyond the Mississippi, Fred D. Warren could not be otherwise than a rebel. While being a pigmy among men physically, he is a giant that overshadows the multitudes intellectually.

Fifty-two years ago another noble character, another whole-souled workingman, urged by the spectacle of four million human beings held in slavery by the grim dominating class, the slave-holders of America, gave up his life in order to light the torch that would bring freedom from chattel slavery. "John Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the grave, But his soul goes marching on."

Just two years after the riddling of the old body of John Brown with American bullets in the hands of men wearing the American uniform, down the Shenandoah valley one hundred thousand men were marching towards the south and the above was their refrain.

Today, Fred D. Warren's body is thrust into an American dungeon at Fort Scott, and from a million or more throats throughout the United States of America comes a protest.

Fifty years of the past has taught the sons and daughters of the working class and the martyrs of the 50s and 60s that there is an easier and better way to accomplish the purpose for which old John Brown gave up his life. Bloody, violent revolution, armed conflict, the hurling of body against body, the clashing of steel, the crash of the cannon, the death-dealing roar of the shell and consequent destruction of the lives of those engaged in mortal conflict, the destruction of the products of wealth of the com-

batants, the animal passions of the man of old to destroy life and property, are today unnecessary.

A revolution is in existence today. To deny it is to deny the truth of your own very existence. However, that revolution is a different revolution from any that the world has ever seen. **It is an intellectual revolution.** The revolts of the past have been violent, physical, mortal combat. The revolution of today will be a revolution of intelligence. The working class of all the known world are fast realizing that upon them depends the very life's existence of every human being. They are quickly becoming cognizant of the fact that they produce all the wealth of the world, and that they are veritable slaves. They are recognizing that the only solution to all the ills is to abolish the present decaying and corrupt capitalistic system.

They recognize that the struggle that is in existence between the master class owning and controlling the products of the working class, who are dependent thereby upon this dominating class for their very existence, will make its martyrs of such men as Fred D. Warren. Knowing this, they will rise in protest and throw down the gauntlet of war.

However, they are not fools enough to batter out their brains against stone walls or offer their bodies for bullet targets. Their blows will be blows of intelligence and they will be hurled at the master class and struck where these blows will have effect—namely, against the ignorance of the workers.

Arise, ye workers from ten thousand cities, towns and hamlets in America! Strike while the iron is hot. Do not allow a single moment to elapse. The working class of this nation is aroused and is girding its armor for the last great conflict for freedom. It is your duty to take up the battle work and do your part.

Let each and every one of us from this moment when Fred D. Warren begins his outrageous sentence, torn from his family of little children, loved wife and aged mother, and thrust into a vile cell, compelled to do hard labor, in order so as to deprive us of his great master mind and verile pen, take up the gauntlet of war and do our part.

Let our answer to the hirelings of capitalism be not only a million, but thrice a million, readers and subscribers to Fred D. Warren's Appeal to Reason. **We can do it, if we will.** We have the precedent of fifty years ago. Lloyd Garrison's "Liberator" never secured more than 2,000 subscribers, Lovejoy's "Observer scarce reached that same number, but they stirred a nation to four years of fearful mortal conflict.

With a copy of the different papers of the Socialist press preaching the doctrine of the class struggle for our emancipation by the only possible means—the co-operative commonwealth—placed in the hands of each worker in these United States of America, Socialism would soon be a reality. Let's do it. Aren't you tired of working for a master class? Then why not quit?

THOMAS J. MORGAN AND THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST

There are some who, for reasons best known to themselves, are trying very hard to discredit Thomas J. Morgan. The same persons have also been trying to discredit the **Christian Socialist.** And we believe a few plain words at this time will help all fair-minded people to a truer understanding of the respective attitudes of Morgan and the **Christian Socialist** toward each other and toward their common battle against graft and free love.

In the first place, there are two very important matters concerning which Morgan and the **Christian Socialist** may not agree. One of them is religion. We believe that Socialism will afford the very opportunity that true Christianity needs and must have to grow and bloom and bring forth the glorious fruits of the Kingdom of God—general righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Spirit; while, we understand, Comrade Morgan rather fears that the conversion of Christian ministers and laymen to Socialism and their coming into the Socialist Party will tend to injure the movement by making it less class conscious and less revolutionary. We believe that the coming into the movement of religious men will not only make it more class conscious, revolutionary and powerful, but will save a bloody, awful and long-fought war.

The other is as to tactics. We do not approve Comrade Morgan's attacks on Berger, Hillquit, Hunter, et al, on the ground that "labor politics" will hurt the cause. While we are revolutionary to the limit, like Moses, Jesus, Marx and Kautsky, we know that **the class struggle is the one great fact in the competitive system which never can be ignored. We could not lose it if we would.** We glory in the Milwaukee victory and Berger's election to Congress. We hope that Haverhill, Los Angeles, Columbus, Minneapolis and scores of other cities, big and little, will go the same way in 1911 and 1912. But these are matters of opinion and tactics with reference to which there must be freedom of expression in the movement, and Morgan has just as good a right to publish his views as Berger has his, or as we have ours.

But the things that have aroused the most opposition and enmity against Morgan are his bold, relentless, unceasing protests against graft and free love in the movement. It is for this cause that men are now searching Morgan's record in finance, in social life, in party life, etc., **trying to find charges against him,** and threaten—in advance of any charges that they are yet able to make—that they **"will get Morgan yet."** This may imply that if they cannot find just grounds for charges, they will make charges to suit their purposes. Well, the chances are that when they do "get Morgan" "they'll catch a Tartar" and "get theirs" also in "plenty." He will probably be able to "give a good account of himself" in any battle that may be carried on against him. And we mention these things only because we desire our readers to be forewarned and forearmed against any such a dastardly attempt; for Morgan's definite charges of graft, stock gambling and immorality, which have been freely published in his "Provoker," and which have altogether too much evidence behind them to be ignored, cannot be answered to the satisfaction of sane and honest men by the silly cry that "Morgan is being paid by capitalists for making trouble in the Socialist movement." **That cry has been raised against every man who has dared to criticise certain persons in the movement**—and it is entirely too stale and too thin.

The same ones that are "going to get Morgan" are also seeking to "get" the **Christian Socialist.** And if they should start some silly falsehood to discredit us, do not be alarmed, and do not be too hasty in judgment. We glory in the enemies we have made by denouncing evil. If in your community these frantic opponents should start rumors of evil against this paper or its editor, just hold steady and give us a fair fight. That's all we ask.

We expect the opposition of all those who favor graft or free love, and of all those who object to the condemnation of these things. But we confidently expect the earnest and practical help of all who approve the battle we are making for thorough honesty and decency in the movement. ARE YOU WITH US?

And we propose to do our best to prevent Comrade Morgan from being "sandbagged" by those who object to his battle against graft and licentiousness.

Do not believe the stories that are being so industriously circulated by some to the effect that "Morgan is hopelessly discredited in the party." He was one of the four men elected from Chicago to the Socialist National Congress of 1910; he received one of the four highest votes at the fall elections, and he has just been elected by a Cook County party referendum as one of the Board of Directors of the Chicago Daily Socialist. He is not "a dead one," quite, just yet. May he "live long and prosper" in his fight against wrong.

STATEMENT FROM BROWER

Dear Carr: For the first time since presenting charges against J. Mahlon Barnes before the National Executive Committee, May 14 of this year, I am asking a Socialist editor to publish a statement in reply to the attacks made upon me by the National Executive Committee of the party.

I have waited long and been patient under a monthly outpouring of abuse from the National Office through the columns of the Bulletin.

In the Weekly Bulletin of Dec. 16 the National Executive Committee states that it desires the National Committee to elect a committee of five "to investigate charges made by Comrades Morgan, Brower and others in the 'Provoker' and 'Christian Socialist,' and else where against the National Executive Committee."

To this charge I reply that up to Dec. 30 I had not discussed the matters at issue either with the editor of the Christian Socialist or with any one connected with that publication; that I have seen but two copies of the "Provoker" since July 1 of this year; that I have not communicated with the editor of the "Provoker" since the opening of this case; that I have not furnished a copy of the charges to any one other than members of the National Committee. (See my letter to N. C. of June 15, and charges sent the same committee July 8.)

That I have ever sought to keep this case in the hands of our elected officials, and to that end have sought to avoid a discussion of same with the party membership. Any statement from officials of the party with intent to convey the impression that I have had part in "a campaign of slander and vilification of the National Executive Committee" is false in every particular. My criticism of the National Executive Committee went straight to the National Committee, where it belonged and where I have made it stick.

At no time since May 14, 1910, have I received a line from any member of the N. E. C.

Barnes has acted as correspondent for this Committee—has, as I firmly believe, had possession of the documents in the case, and the use of the party Bulletin for the abuse of those who charge him with conduct unbecoming any official of the party.

THINK OF IT! **The accused assumes authority to act as correspondent between his accusers and the court in which it is expected the issue is to be tried.** Did you ever hear of anything like it before?

As attorney for the accused official, the National Executive Committee refused my reasonable request that they assume responsibility for the conduct of the National Office pending trial; refused to consider any of the charges presented; refused to consult with those presenting said charges; heard Barnes IN SECRET SESSION; GAVE HIM AUTHORITY TO ACT AS CORRESPONDENT IN THE CASE AGAINST HIMSELF—and now asks vindication at the hands of a committee of five.

Very well, Mr. Editor, we shall see what sort of vindication they receive.

Finally, I want it distinctly understood that I have not formed a partnership with, nor entered into an agreement with any one or more members of the party to further the interests of any faction within the party; and that I have had no connection whatever with any publication, periodical or published statement relative to this case to date, or in any attack upon individual members of the party.

I realize that the minds of the comrades throughout the country have been biased by reason of the fact that but one side of the issue has been presented to them, but I believe in the ultimate triumph of the right.

Both the ultimate economic demand and the social ideal must animate the forces of the Revolution.

Yours for ours, Jas. H. Brower.

Rev. W. A. Ward's Dates

January 22, Kansas City, Mo.
January 23, Lawrence, Kan.
January 24, Leavenworth, Kan.
January 25, Manhattan, Kan.
January 27, Hutchinson, Kan.
January 28, Kingman, Kan.
January 39, Wichita, Kan.
January 30, Great Bend, Kan.
January 31, Garden City, Kan.
February 1, Pueblo, Colo.
February 2-3, Denver, Colo.
February 4, Boulder, Colo.
February 5, Denver, Colo.

FINANCIAL REPORT OF THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST FELLOWSHIP

October, 1910.

RECEIPTS

Dues, at large	$ 13.40	
Dues, Centres	9.20	
Supplies	.50	
Literature	3.75	
Lectures, General Secretary	170.95	
Received by General Treasurer	9.00	$206.80
Balance on hand October 1		.36
		$207.16

EXPENDITURES

Postage	$ 8.05	
Printed Supplies	9.95	
Typewriter	15.00	
Sundries	1.80	
Traveling Expense, Gen. Secretary.	56.09	
Salary, General Secretary	100.00	
On Back Salary, Gen. Secretary	15.00	$205.89
Cash Balance		1.27
		$207.16

Balance salary due the General Secretary....$50.00

November, 1910

RECEIPTS

Dues at large	$ 23.95	
Lectures, General Secretary	187.70	
Literature sales	3.55	
Commission of C. S.	5.99	
Received by General Treasurer	10.20	
		$231.39
Balance November 1		1.27
		$232.66

EXPENDITURES

Literature, Co-Operative Print'g Co..	$ 1.22	
Sundries	.75	
Typewriter payment	5.00	
Traveling expenses, Gen. Secretary..	113.61	
Postage, etc.	5.92	
Salary Gen. Secretary	100.00	
		$226.50
Cash balance		6.16
		$232.66

Balance salary due Gen. Secretary, $50.00.

December, 1910

RECEIPTS

Dues at large	$ 25.20	
Dues, Centres	14.45	
Lectures, General Secretary	138.60	
Literature sales	5.75	
Commissions on C. S.	12.14	
Supplies	.55	
Mrs. Elizabeth Knox	.25	
Received by General Treasurer	23.63	
		$220.57
Balance, December 1		6.16
		$226.73

EXPENDITURES

Supplies, Myerson Printing Co.	$ 16.75	
Supplies, stationery	.50	
Literature, Co-Operative Print'g Co..	11.85	
Sundries	.35	
Typewriter payment	5.00	
Traveling expenses, Gen. Secretary..	75.14	
Postage, etc.	2.57	
Salary, General Secretary	100.00	
		$212.16
Cash balance		14.57
		$226.73

Back salary due Gen. Secretary, $50.00.
.Wm. A. Ward, General Secretary.
Harvey P. Moyer, General Treasurer.

ESSENCE OF SOCIALISM

"The Essence of Socialism," by Wm. H. Watts, a 10c pamphlet containing interesting and instructive articles on "The Philosophy of Socialism," "The Economics of Socialism," "The Co-Operative Commonwealth," and "Marx's Forecast," may be obtained of **The Christian Socialist.**

IN NEW MEXICO

The Thirteenth precinct at Eunice, N. M., was carried by the Socialists as follows:

For Justice of the Peace—J. C. Estlock, Socialist, re-elected, 27 votes; J. N. Carson, Dem., 1.

For Constable—W. F. Turner, Soc., 22; W. S. Owens, Dem., 7.

ANOTHER SOCIALIST ALDERMAN

At the city election held the 10th inst., in Medford, Oregon, Comrade C. H. Miller was elected councilman of the Third ward by a plurality of 39 votes. E. E. Wolter, Socialist candidate for mayor, received 238 votes. Two years ago our candidate received but 34 votes.

The Editorials That Opened "A Closed Incident"

Why Did Not the N. E. C. Have Them Printed with their charges?

Can You Find Any Fault with Them?

(Reprinted from the **Christian Socialist** of October 1, 1910.)

The Committee Should Act Fully and Fairly

Charges of the most serious character have been made before the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party against the National Secretary. If these charges are true, he should be relieved of all official responsibility in the party. If they are false, he should be cleared of them in a fair and unequivocable manner. Nothing but a full, fair trial can properly settle this matter.

The attempt to belittle those who make these charges is exceedingly unwise. Thos. J. Morgan is one of the most experienced, intelligent and highly honored of Chicago Socialists, who, in spite of bitter opposition manifested against him recently, was chosen by referendum as one of the four comrades to represent Chicago Socialism in the National Socialist Congress. He doubtless makes mistakes and shows prejudice, as all of us do, but he cannot honestly nor wisely be ignored when he deliberately writes the grave, specific charges his little "Provoker" has contained in the last three or four issues. The Committee must hear him out in full or be liable to the charge of deliberately whitewashing a mass of corruption. Besides he does not prefer the charges himself, he is but the attorney for the following comrades:

"Mother Jones," the Madam Breshkovsky of the American Socialist movement, the War Eagle of the American Labor Struggle, who makes serious charges against the National Secretary, cannot be condemned with impunity nor successfully ignored. The deliberate effort to prevent the comrades at large from learning that she is back of "Morgan's charges" looks rather dark.

J. H. Brower, the well-known author and lecturer, who has been honored with the nomination for Governor of Illinois on the Socialist ticket, who has worked in the National office, and who is now one of the National Committeemen from Illinois, cannot justly be thrust aside nor safely belittled. And Miss Flaherty has been too long in the National office and is too well respected to have her testimony dismissed as "frivolous."

Rumors of the gravest character have been floating about for years, and now that they have been crystallized into charges, the National Executive Committee should give them a thorough investigation—and if Comrade Barnes is innocent, as we devoutly hope he is, he will be the most eager and persistent in the effort to obtain a full, fair trial and complete vindication.

Comrades Jones, Brower, Flaherty and Morgan have placed the National Executive Committee and the Socialist Party on trial as well as the one personally accused.

Let the National Executive Committee and the National Committee in turn sift these charges to the bottom in spite of all technical irregularities. **The methods of a Capitalist court will not prevail in the sessions of the Committee, if truth and justice are desired.**

If the charges are "frivolous," **why so carefully hide them?** They should be published fully and truly in the Bulletin, as the charges against others have been, then the comrades would be able to decide for themselves whether they are "frivolous" or **grave.**

We protest against the "investigation" where the accusing witnesses are excluded. We protest against the transparent scheme of moving the "investigation" eight hundred miles away from the accusing witnesses and then "closing" the case on the testimony of the accused ones only. And we solemnly warn all those concerned that **such methods will not prevent the comrades at large from learning the truth** so that they may be able to uphold the honor and efficiency of the party.

As loyal Socialists who deeply desire the Socialist Party to live and gain power we can no longer remain silent while these charges are ignored or strangled with red tape. Let the truth be known and let the party headquarters be clean.

The Socialist papers have been vigorous and general in their condemnation of the attempt to discredit the Socialist administration of Milwaukee by the foul slander against Dr. Rucker, and have heartily approved the prompt acceptance of his resignation by Mayor Siedel pending the investigation. We hope these papers will all be as eager to rid the Party itself of any corrupt official who may be discovered befouling the good character and reputation of the Party by licentiousness or drunkenness. The Socialist movement deserves real men, clean men, strong men in its official positions everywhere.

To be sure a Socialist branch is not running a holiness class meeting, and no political party can require perfect characters of its rank and file; but certainly the vast majority of the Comrades will desire sober, chaste men and women for their more important officials. Those who preach or practice "free love" should be kept far in the rear.

If Dr. Rucker, a lifelong Republican, who makes no profession of being a Socialist, had the honorable regard for the Socialist movement of Milwaukee (which hired him as a sanitary expert), to resign his office for the sake of the good name of Milwaukee Socialism as soon as he was accused, surely a high official of the Socialist Party, claiming to be a Socialist and drawing his salary from the Socialist Party, should promptly resign until his case is thoroughly investigated when he is accused of even graver offenses.

DARE TO DO RIGHT

(Reprinted from the **Christian Socialist** of October 15, 1910.)

The Socialists cannot rail at the corruptions of capitalist politicians and business men **unless they keep their own party clean** without being guilty of the grossest hypocrisy and suicidal folly. If the National Office is being used as a rendezvous for drunkenness and licentiousness, or if the National Secretary is guilty of such offenses against the movement, as charged, there must be a thorough housecleaning or the Socialist Party will fail utterly—and ought to. If there are men or women sustained by Socialist funds while they spread the doctrines and practice of freelove, they must be promptly denied that "special privilege," if the Party would grow.

SOCIALISM WILL LIVE AND GROW AND CONQUER WHATEVER HAPPENS TO THE PRESENT SOCIALIST PARTY; but there are tens of thousands of true men and women whose hearts are in the Socialist party because of their long service in it and because they see its glorious possibilities. Let not their prospects be shattered by the cowardly foolishness of fearing to condemn vice in our own ranks or by the silly hypocrisy of trying to hide it.

IF THE CANCER IS THERE, LET IT BE CUT OUT NOW.

We demand, in the name of hundreds of thousands of honorable and noble Socialists, that the charges against the National Secretary be thoroughly and fairly investigated. If he be innocent, we want him unequivocably cleared and his detractors suitably rebuked. If he be guilty, we demand his expulsion from office.

And it is apparent to every sane and honest person that an "investigation" carried on hundreds of miles from the accusing witnesses is a farce and a fraud upon its face. Let us have done with such infamous methods and let the truth be known. Thus only can our cause and party be vindicated from the foul slanders that are being heaped upon them. Let the loyal comrades at once make their voices heard by the Editors, the National Committee and the National Executive Committee.

Comrades, we are ready to stand by the above editorials to the end. Every reader knows that they are true and fair in fact and spirit, and, in the circumstances, needful. And the fact that the N. E. C. reopened the "closed incident" and granted Brower's previous demand that the case be tried by a committee less prejudiced than themselves, is a confession that our editorials were fully justified and sadly needed.

We did not accuse Barnes, we only demanded for him a fair trial, and expressed the devout hope that he might be fully and squarely acquitted. But we did criticise the N. E. C. and protest aginst its methods; and we do so still, with even greater cause than before. We are proud and happy to have done the party this service. And if this be **lese majesty,** let them make the most of it.

OUR OBJECT

The editor of the **Christian Socialist** has been a member of the Socialist Party ever since it was organized, and was a member of the Social Democratic Party previously. For Socialism he has declined the opportunities of the church and of the world. He has been in harness at work for the party always, and expects to continue. The same spirit animates all those who own and control this paper. The Socialist movement is first in their hearts; and they have put so many years of labor into the Socialist party that they love it beyond measure and desire intensely its permanent success.

But we know that the Socialist party can not succeed if it hides in its own bosom the corruption and tyranny that make the old parties evil. **THE SUCCESS OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY DEPENDS AS MUCH UPON ITS HONESTY, FAIRNESS AND CLEANNESS AS UPON ITS PROGRAM.**

And it is far better for the party to clean house heroically now, if it be necessary, **THAN TO WAIT UNTIL, ON THE VERY EVE OF SOME GREAT VICTORY OTHERWISE POSSIBLE, THE REVELATION OF OFFICIAL CORRUPTION IS MADE AND PROVEN AGAINST US BY CAPITALIST PAPERS. THEY ARE NOT BLIND, AND THEY WILL BE UTTERLY RELENTLESS.**

The Socialist movement will eventually succeed, even if the Socialist party so dear to us all should fail; but the movement will succeed much faster if our party does right.

Therefore, let us condemn both corruption and tyranny "unsparingly" wherever it may be found, especially among our own officials, for the party's sake, and for the movement's sake.

DAVID GOLDSTEIN'S MISTAKE

A special correspondent for the Chicago Daily Socialist from Detroit says (in the issue of January 20) of David Goldstein, who is now opposing Socialism because he claims it is immoral:

"Goldstein was the first candidate of the Socialists for Mayor of Boston. He seceded from the party when it refused to embody in its constitution a provision repudiating speakers who attacked religion and preached free love."

David made a big mistake. He should have stayed in and exposed the free love advocates. **THE RANK AND FILE OF THE PARTY WILL REPUDIATE SUCH SPEAKERS VERY QUICK WHEN THEY ONCE LEARN WHO THEY ARE.** Aside from the abominable immorality of it, a speaker so hopelessly tactless as to advocate free love from a Socialist platform or in Socialist homes is doomed to the scrap pile for want of ordinary intelligence. The Socialist party of America has no more hope of victory if it refuses to condemn free love than it has of governing the planet Mars next year.

Away with such rank idiocy. Relegate such fools to the rear, if there be such among our officers and organizers. The **Christian Socialist** will be highly honored by the opposition of all such.

DIVINE RIGHT OF OFFICIALS

An editorial from the Daily Socialist, reprinted for the consideration of the officials of the Socialist party.

The Divine Right of Presidents

A government exempt from criticism would soon become a tyranny. In fact, every act of the government should be subjected to the closest scrutiny by the citizen and unsparingly criticized. That and that alone can maintain the integrity of the people, freedom of thought, speech and press, against the tendency of encroachment by organized officialdom.

The Supreme Court of the United States has just rendered an important decision which knocks out Roosevelt's idea of "the divine right" that hedges a president and his brother-in-law.

It decided unanimously that the federal government cannot maintain an action for libel against the New York World for its publications in connection with the Panama canal scandal.

This is the case Roosevelt got mad about, sent special messages to congress and instructed his attorney general to procure criminal proceedings against several newspapers.

Mr. Roosevelt attempted to create the crime of "constructive treason" in this country. Whether his motive was real personal vanity, demanding his vindication and that of his brother-in-law, or whether it was intended to be a step toward imperialism, the future may disclose.

Fortunately, the Supreme Court has put the quietus upon monarchial tendencies in this particular direction for some time.

COMRADES

We fully realize that this is not a propaganda number, **BUT IN COMMON JUSTICE IT SHOULD BE TAKEN BY YOU TO YOUR BRANCH.** Let your comrades know both sides. Do not allow the **Christian Socialist** to be sandbagged in the dark and destroyed by self-constituted suppressors of free speech and a free press.

If you want to use the first two and last pages for propaganda, take out the four inside pages referring to the Barnes case and preserve them, giving the propaganda pages away, or tear off 7th and 8th pages containing S. S. Lesson and "Young Crusaders."

The Barnes Case Opened Up Again

National Office to be Investigated by Special Committee

We have the utmost confidence in the general ability and good intentions of a majority of the members of the National Executive Committee, and are sorry that their management of the Barnes case has got them into a humiliating tangle and forced the publicity which none of us desired.

A dangerous fire may be "kept under control" about so long, and then, if it be not put out, it will surely burst forth and spread. The mistakes of the committee, perhaps, arose mainly from their persistent attempts to conceal the fact that there is a fire, and especially to hide the extent and seriousness of the fire, from those most concerned. But the people who dwell in the hotel or home where a fire is raging have a right to know, for their own safety; and if they own the building, and it is very valuable to them, they have another claim to know about the fire and what efforts are being made to extinguish it. Therefore, the comrades of the Socialist Party had a right to know, and now have even a larger right to know, the truth about the Barnes case.

And we propose, in view of the action of the National Executive Committee at its session in Chicago Dec. 10, to make a few statements, to present a few letters, and to ask a few questions.

We do not claim omniscience or infallibility, and if our statement of the case is at fault in any important particular we will be glad to print the correct statement if it can be obtained.

Early in the month of May, 1910, certain charges were presented in writing to the National Executive Committee against National Secretary Barnes by three different persons; by "Mother" Jones, the noted labor agitator, who is beloved by millions of Socialists and union labor men, women and children; by James H. Brower, prominent Socialist lecturer and writer, recently nominated for Governor of Illinois and recently elected a member of the National Committee from Illinois; and by Miss Marguerite Flaherty, who was for five years an assistant to Secretary Barnes in the National Office. These three charges were presented in three separate writings, signed by the above-named comrades respectively.

Every one who has read the bulletins, reports of N. E. C. meetings and other statements that have since that time been issued by the National Office under authority of the N. E. C., will realize that a most unwise attempt has been made to keep the real facts and the most important facts connected with these charges from coming to the knowledge of the members of the National Committee, the State, County and Branch Secretaries, the party press, and the comrades generally.

Contrary to custom the charges were never printed in the Bulletin.

Contrary to custom and truth, the charges have been misrepresented as to their contents and as to the accusers.

Mother Jones' Charges

The charges which in the official reports have been generally attributed to Thomas J. Morgan were signed by Mother Jones. They are the ones that have been declared "frivolous." And we submit this fair question:

If Mother Jones' charges are "frivolous," WHY WERE THEY NOT PRINTED IN THE BULLETIN, so that the comrades generally might see that they are?

We have seen those charges, and are sure that they were suppressed BECAUSE THEY ARE SO VERY SERIOUS, not because they are "frivolous."

And if any one says that they were suppressed to save Mother Jones embarrassment, the statement is proven false by the fact that the National Secretary was permitted to use his official position to send out slanderous statements to the effect that Mother Jones has the habit of lending money to party officials and editors in order to get them under her power—a statement as base, false and cowardly against the generous-hearted old heroine as could be well imagined. The charges were suppressed to save embarrassment to Barnes, not to Mother Jones

WE DEMAND THAT THESE CHARGES BE CORRECTLY PRINTED IN THE BULLETIN SO THAT THE COMRADES MAY KNOW FOR THEMSELVES HOW SERIOUS OR FRIVOLOUS THEY ARE.

James H. Brower's Charges

On Dec. 11, SEVEN MONTHS after James H. Brower presented his charges in writing against Barnes, Comrades Carey and Hillquit admit in their report that these charges are of a "serious nature, but wholly lacking in specifications or proof." Yes, they are of such a "serious nature" that they have been suppressed to this day; and Lawyer Hillquit knows that proof is not required until the day of trial —and there has been no trial yet.

The charges of Brower are specific enough. If such charges were made against the manager or cashier or bookkeeper of any business institution, the directors would feel compelled to take charge of affairs at once (as Brower demanded) and DISCOVER FOR THEMSELVES what grounds there were for such charges from one who had been in the office long enough to know something of the way in which the business was being conducted. They would not leave affairs in the hands of the accused official WITHOUT INVESTIGATION for thirty days or seven months until he had ample time to remove the evidence of his guilt.

Owing to the nature of the charges on business grounds alone, Brower's demand for an immediate investigation of the affairs of the National Office was wholly reasonable and just. IF NOT, A CORRECT PRINTING OF HIS CHARGES IN THE BULLETIN WILL CONVINCE ALL SANE AND HONEST COMRADES.

The comrades have a right to know. It is their party, their money, their affairs that are concerned in these charges. DOES THE N. E. C. FEAR TO LET THE PARTY COMRADES KNOW? Then why not print the charges?

Miss Flaherty's Charges

The most serious charges of all against Barnes and others are those of Miss Marguerite Flaherty, who was five years in the National Office and against whose name there is no breath of accusation. And to this hour no hint of the character of these charges has been presented in the Bulletin. In the report of Carey and Hillquit of Dec. 11 (printed elsewhere) they are ignored, except by the indefinite admission "and others." These charges are certainly not too "frivolous" to print. They may be too serious out to print on account of the women involved and the unspeakable condition of affairs in the National Office which they declare—until a fair investigation has been made; but they were of such a nature as to require immediate action on the part of the N. E. C. Yet they have been absolutely ignored and treated with contempt by the N. E. C. for seven long months, while Miss Flaherty has lost two jobs already on account of them.

If these charges are faise, we would be very happy to know it. IF THEY ARE TRUE, the comrades must know in order to decide what kind of a National Office and national officers they want.

CHARGES LIKE THESE AGAINST OFFICIALS SUPPORTED BY THE SOCIALIST PARTY CANNOT BE SUPPRESSED NOR IGNORED. We give fair warning.

The Assault on Morgan

The persistent and desperate attempt to load these charges upon Comrade Morgan is one of the most peculiar, false and cowardly things we know. The comrades generally have been grossly deceived by the official reports against Morgan in this connection. Mother Jones, James H. Brower and Miss Flaherty are the ones who make the charges, and every member of the N. E. C. knows this, all reports to the contrary notwithstanding.

THAT WIERD MAY MEETING

"Early in May" the written and signed charges of Mother Jones, Comrade Brower and Miss Flaherty were all three presented to the N. E. C.

Then a strange thing occurred. To prove how "frivolous" these charges were considered to be, the N. E. C. EXCLUDED THE ACCUSERS and all visitors from the room and WENT INTO SECRET SESSION. Nay, innocent readers of the fairy stories contained in the National Bulletin, this secret session was not held to prevent ticklish spectators from laughing themselves to death over the FRIVOLITY of the charges, but because THEY WERE THE MOST SERIOUS CHARGES EVER PRESENTED TO ANY N. E. C. OF THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST PARTY.

And, while the ACCUSERS were all banished from the room, the ACCUSED, including the women, WERE PERMITTED TO REMAIN. And so the "investigation" proceeded behind closed doors and in the presence of the accused only!

And, wierder and stranger still, we are most credibly informed that, lest the very walls might hear and shake themselves down with uncontrolable merriment at their "frivolity," the charges were not read aloud in an official way, but were passed from hand to hand and read silently and separately by each member of the N. E. C. (Yes, the secret session must have had some LEAKS in it.)

All this time Comrade Brower waited just outside the door, waiting to be called and wondering at the remarkable silence inside; for the "frivolity" of the N. E. C. and the accused was not vociferous just then. And Miss Flaherty waited in the building expecting to be called, while Mother Jones, at her hotel, expected (in vain) to be called by telephone. All three of these were ready and eager to testify and REMAINED WITHIN EASY REACH OF THE COMMITTEE FOR A WEEK WITHOUT HAVING A CHANCE TO TESTIFY.

And in face of the above facts the statement of any member of the N. E. C. that a reasonable effort was made or a reasonable opportunity PERMITTED to get the testimony is exceedingly strange, to say the least.

Meanwhile the three accusers and others repeatedly urged members of the committee to sift the case, but were put off without satisfaction. Then, after the National Conference of 1910 was over and the comrades scattered to their homes, the case was reported as "frivolous."

AND ALL THE OFFICIAL REPORTS OF THE CASE WERE LEFT IN THE HANDS OF THE ACCUSED.

A fine quality of fair play "on tap" at the National Office!

Because of such treatment Comrades Brower and others felt outraged and said some things not wholly pleasant to the ears of the N. E. C., though we have observed that said N. E. C. does not regard those SAYINGS as altogether "frivolous." And Brower thereupon appealed the case to the National Committee, the larger body, to which the N. E. C. is amenable.

Now, we appeal to all candid comrades if such a report of the May meeting of the N. E. C. and the Barnes case from those who know, and in whose honor and veracity we have every reason to believe, was not enough to justify us in feeling somewhat restless and unsatisfied?

Yet we continued quietly, if not patiently, to await further developments.

THAT QUEER JUNE EFFORT

We have the information direct from Comrades Brower, Morgan and Flaherty that they had no previous notice to present the case at the June meeting. That they had no reason to expect an investigation then, for Mother Jones' charges had been dismissed by the N. E. C. in May as too "frivolous" for consideration, while BROWER'S APPEAL TO THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE WAS STILL PENDING. But, perhaps fearful of the effect of having the whole case opened up before the larger and more representative National Committee, the N. E. C. decided to ignore Brower's appeal to the N. C. and take the matter up once more. And, without previous notice to any of the accusers, after the N. E. C. met at Chicago, Miss Flaherty was suddenly called to appear before the N. E. C. She replied that, AS THE CASE WAS THEN OUT OF THE HANDS OF THE N. E. C. ON AN APPEAL TO THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE, AND AS THE OTHER ACCUSING COMRADES WERE OUT OF THE CITY, SHE DID NOT THINK IT PROPER FOR HER TO APPEAR ALONE. She was doubtless correct. The same day a TELEGRAM was sent to Brower at Joliet and another to Morgan at a distant city where he was lecturing, asking them to appear before the committee at Chicago the next day. Naturally, they declined to ignore their own appeal to the N. C. and submit to snap judgment in the matter. They were both morally and technically correct in their refusal.

And it is upon their refusal to appear in June on a sudden summons by telegram, without previous notice, WHILE THE APPEAL TO THE N. C. WAS PENDING, and when the N. E. C. had every reason to believe that they would not ignore their own appeal and appear, AND AFTER THE INFAMOUS TREATMENT OF THE CASE AT THE MAY MEETING, that the claim is made by members of the N. E. C. that every reasonable effort has been made to get these witnesses to testify! Let the reader judge for himself.

The member of the N. E. C. who says, "Our committee offered to the complainant every opportunity to substantiate his charges, but the latter persistently refused to take advantage of it," MUST HAVE FORGOTTEN how LONESOME Brower got waiting outside of the SECRET SESSION IN MAY with the vain hope of being called, what A LONG WEEK IT WAS to all three of the accusers who waited in vain for ANY OPPORTUNITY to testify, how Brower offered to "SHOW" them evidence a-plenty in the National Office itself if they would then and there institute an investigation, and how a snap call to testify before the N. E. C. in June, while their appeal was pending before the N. C., could not reasonably be expected to "appeal" to the accusers. The fact is the accusers naturally regarded such "efforts" of the N. E. C. as worse than "frivolous."

The New York Meeting

And when the National Committee, acting upon Brower's appeal, voted not to take up the Barnes case UNTIL THE N. E. C. HAD ACTED, the N. E. C., THUS CONFESSING THAT IT HAD NOT PREVIOUSLY GIVEN A PROPER INVESTIGATION, decided to take the matter up again at the August meeting.

First, in May it had thrown the charges out as "frivolous" and refused to hear the accusing witnesses.

Second, in June, after Brower's appeal, it had hastily taken up the matter again and made a counter charge against Brower for refusing—owing to the appeal and short notice—to come; and,

Third, it took the matter up in August by order of the National Committee.

And again Brower and Miss Flaherty and Mother Jones were not present.

And we insist that they ought to have been present at that investigation which was ordered by the N. C.

Why were they not there?

Because that meeting was held in New York instead of Chicago (its usual place) and the walking between Chicago and New York is hard and long—about 800 miles, in fact.

We are being abused for protesting against moving the August "investigation" 800 miles from the accusing witnesses.

Well, gentlemen, your records show that you did it. Do not execute us for LESE MAJESTY because we protest.

Perhaps Barnes and the N. E. C. still regarded these charges, which were now to be "investigated" for the THIRD time, as being so "frivolous" that they actually forgot all about them when they, at Barnes' suggestion, moved that meeting to New York.

Anyway, at this New York meeting the charges were again "investigated" BY HEARING A STATEMENT FROM THE ACCUSED IN THE ABSENCE OF ALL THE ACCUSING WITNESSES, and Barnes was again cleared and the case was officially declared "a closed incident."

Now, we do not deny that there may have been other reasons in themselves sufficient for holding the August meeting at New York; but if there had been any disposition whatever fairly to investigate the Barnes case, THE CASE COULD AND WOULD HAVE BEEN POSTPONED until some future time, perhaps after election, and called for Chicago, where the accusers might have had a fair chance. But no possible explanation will justify the

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farce of pretending to "investigate" that case 800 miles away from Brower, Miss Flaherty and Mother Jones, and the less we are tried for LESE MAJESTY on that count the better it will be for the reputation of the Committee. If that was actually an oversight and not a deliberate attempt to whitewash a bad case, it was one of the most remarkable cases of LAPSUS MENTIS that ever happened. Is it any wonder that in such circumstances the case would not, could not, remain "a closed incident?"

WHAT OPENED IT?

Meanwhile, the editor of the **Christian Socialist** was getting deeper and deeper "under conviction," as the old-time Methodists used to say, concerning the strange treatment of the case by the N. E. C., and the INJUSTICE and COWARDICE on the part of the rest of us in permitting Comrades Morgan and Brower to fight the battle so much alone and be so clearly made "scape-goats" of without our protest against such a stigma upon the party.

We did not want to do it. OTHER PAPERS SHOULD HAVE TAKEN THIS MATTER UP, or other influences should have been brought to bear to obtain for the Barnes case a fair trial; but for some reason these other papers and influences took no part and the "case" grew worse. So, after weeks of careful thought and consultation, an editorial upon the subject appeared in the **Christian Socialist** Oct. 1, and the case, three times dismissed by the N. E. C., was no more "a closed incident."

The N. E. C. evidently thought it could ignore Brower, suppress the name of Mother Jones, forget Miss Flaherty's charges, and "discredit" Morgan until the comrades generally would refuse to believe him; but when the **Christian Socialist** felt compelled in common decency and justice to come to the help of these brave and browbeaten comrades, the matter was different. WE HAVE A HEARING IN THE PARTY AND AMONG ITS POLITICAL SUPPORTERS THAN CANNOT BE IGNORED.

And now the attack is directed against US, and it appears that we are to be tried for LESE MAJESTY.

Very well. But let no one fancy that any misrepresentation of this case can now escape challenge, or that the **Christian Socialist** can be intimidated or its influence destroyed.

A NEW DEAL

But on the strength of the **Christian Socialist** editorials and our letters concerning Goebel's proposal, it was decided at the December meeting of the N. E. C. to ask the National Committee to elect a Trial Committee to meet, if possible, on Feb. 4.

As this is substantially what Brower demanded after the unfair treatment he complained of at the May meeting, we may be thankful that the N. E. C. has been prodded into making so much progress. But our joy is not entirely unalloyed; for, lo! "the conduct of Brower, Morgan and Carr" is also to be investigated by this Special Committee elected by the National Committee.

Great and wonderful is our N. E. C. Before the accused National Secretary has had any trial whatever under "serious" charges filed by three well-known comrades "early in May," every one who has dared to demand a "fair, full and open trial" and who has dared to protest against the farcical fraud of trying a man 800 miles away from all accusing witnesses and then declaring the case "a closed incident," is to be tried—what for?

IS IT A CRIME IN THE SOCIALIST PARTY TO PREFER CHARGES AGAINST AN OFFICIAL BELIEVED TO BE GUILTY, as Brower and the others did?

IS IT A CRIME IN THE SOCIALIST PARTY TO INSIST UPON A FAIR TRIAL as Brower, Morgan and the **Christian Socialist** did?

IS IT A CRIME IN THE SOCIALIST PARTY TO CRITICISE THE N. E. C.?

"WHERE ARE WE AT," ANYWAY?

Really the gyrations of the various members of the N. E. C. tend to intoxicate and bewilder plain Party members who never before realized that we have a czar, kaiser or bureaucracy whose actions we dare not criticise nor protest against under peril of trial and—execution (?) for lese majesty.

There are many queer things in America, but the N. E. C. seems the funniest when it takes itself most seriously.

WHERE THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST COMES IN

Every sane person will realize how much it was and is to the economic and fraternal interest of the **Christian Socialist** to keep out of an affair of this kind. And we did so from "early in May" until Oct. 1. But when we saw how far unjust methods prevailed in the case until the climax of whitewashing infamy was reached at the August meeting of the N. E. C., and then witnessed the base assault upon Comrades Brower and Morgan for having agitated the matter, we felt that both patience and "prudence" had ceased to be a virtue.

WE DID NO WRONG TO ANY INNOCENT PARTIES BY DEMANDING A FAIR TRIAL. Every one who knows the character of the charges has done the Socialist Party and the whole movement a great wrong by failing to demand a fair trial.

And no one who has read the last few National Bulletins can doubt that the **Christian Socialist** editorials of Oct. 1 and 15 were responsible for the reopening of the case, which was in August so confidently and ill-advisedly declared "a closed incident." Thus the absolute infallibility of the noble gentlemen who constitute the bulk of the N. E. C. has been completely disproved.

NOW WE ARE COMPELLED TO EXPOSE THE MISCONDUCT AND MISREPRESENTATION OF THIS CASE, NOT ONLY FOR THE HONOR OF THE MOVEMENT, BUT ALSO FOR THE VERY LIFE OF THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST. The unjust and outrageous attacks on this paper, PRINTED IN THE OFFICIAL BULLETIN AND SENT TO EVERY BRANCH IN AMERICA, which entirely misrepresent the case, AND THE REFUSAL OF THE NATIONAL OFFICERS to SEND OUR EDITORIALS WHICH THEY ATTACK ALONG WITH THEIR LETTERS TO DISPROVE THEIR CHARGES, compel us to print further explanations of the mal-administration of our officials. IF THEY HAVE MADE THE BARNES CASE THEIR OWN they must stand the consequences.

And we venture to warn all those concerned that we have not fired our heaviest guns yet; and if the future conduct of the Barnes case is one-sided and unfair, we will speak our message without regard to consequences.

IF FREELOVERS ARE TO RECEIVE OFFICIAL PROTECTION, NO POWER ON EARTH CAN PREVENT OUR PROTEST REACHING FROM SEA TO SEA.

We have counted all possible cost, and those who imagine that we can be bluffed or "disciplined" for this protest might as well come out of their trance at once.

We have no personal interests to serve, but we are willing to risk the life of the **Christian Socialist** in the effort to save the Socialist party from injury, and we are sure that the rank and file of the party can be depended upon to stand for righteousness.

GOEBEL'S ATTACK

After our editorial of Oct. 1, Comrade Geo. H. Goebel, a member of the N. E. C., whom the Provoker had unmercifully "roasted" on account of his alleged connection with the Wilshire stock gambling schemes, wrote the following letter and moved that it be sent to each local:

(Reprinted from the National Bulletin.)

Herewith is also submitted a motion by Comrade Goebel:

"Herewith find draft of a letter which I move be sent by the National Executive Committee to each local as quickly following election as circumstances permit:

"Comment—The scandalous editorials in the **Christian Socialist**, following up the work of the Provoker, have created confusion and discouragement and suspicion in all parts of the country. Justice to the party and its workers everywhere requires that we now compel those circulating such stories and articles to prove them or be liable to drastic action. When a paper such as the **Christian Socialist**, which hundreds of Socialists out of their own pockets have paid to have sent to ministers, members of churches and other conservative people, uses its columns in the closing month of a campaign to carry into thousands of homes the impression that the National Headquarters of the Socialist Party is a den of iniquity, and that the National Executive Committee of the party stands for such things and 'moves the investigation 800 miles from the accusers,' it is more than a matter of persons.

"We are now between campaigns. We should clear the decks for the campaign about to open. The action which I propose will at once bring matters to a conclusion, clarify the situation and show 'What's what in the Socialist Party.'"—Geo. H. Goebel.

It will be observed that Comrade Goebel, having "got the habit" of trying cases by hearing ONLY ONE SIDE, proposed to stab, and, if possible, destroy, the **Christian Socialist** by sending his charges against us out without sending along the evidence of our "guilt," namely, the editorials themselves. Therefore, the editor of the **Christian Socialist** promptly sent to Barnes, Berger, Hillquit, Spargo and Hunter, the following penciled note from "way down South." We did not mean to leave Carey out, but having no list there we did not remember the names of all the N. E. C. We have no copy of these letters except of the one sent to Hunter, which is printed in the Bulletin; but our letters to the others were very brief, merely demanding that "if Goebel's letter is sent to the branches, common justice and decency require that correct reprints of our editorials should be sent along, etc." Our letter to Hunter was somewhat longer, because we presumed especially upon his opposition to free love teachers in the movement:

CARR TO HUNTER

(Reprinted from the National Bulletin.)

"Pottsville, Ky., Nov. 18, 1910.

"Dear Hunter: Here where I am giving a series of Socialist lectures I learn of Goebel's motion concerning the Christian Socialist. He evidently means well, but common decency and fairness require that if his letter goes to the branches both my editorials—which he outrageously misrepresents—should go along. They will speak for themselves to refute his letter. If they are correctly reprinted and sent with his letter, we will be satisfied. If not, we will be compelled to 'carry the war into Africa' without fear or favor.

"All we ask is a fair, full and open trial for Barnes—and that no honest man who wants to protect the movement from free love can deny. The **Christian Socialist** protest cannot be silenced and the paper cannot be killed.

"Please insist on a square deal in this matter. Do not be caught off your guard. Fraternally,

"(Signed) E. E. Carr."

"We are devoting the whole of our next issue to J. Wesley Hill, replying at length to three of his lectures which were delivered at the Winona Bible School—and the only difficulty we have in refuting his charge of free love, atheism, etc., is the fact that certain prominent comrades at home and abroad are justifying his charges by word and deed. We cannot defend the Socialist movement hypocritically. We must remove or at least denounce their reproach upon the cause." E. E. C."

HUNTER TO CARR.

(Reprinted from the National Bulletin.)

"Highland Farm,
"Noroton Heights, Conn., Dec. 8, 1910.

"Dear Comrade Carr: I have sent your letter on to be read to the National Executive Committee at its next session.

"I presume you know that the N. E. C. carefully considered all the evidence that has yet been presented to it in support of charges against the National Secretary.

"It has also used efforts to obtain from those making the charges any further information they have. But apparently those making the charges desired to use them for purposes of slander, not with any desire to serve the party. They have therefore spread the charges broadcast while refusing persistently to aid the N. E. C. in arriving at the truth.

"You also deal in your letter with what you like to call 'free love in the movement.' I do not know to what you refer or to whom. I have no doubt that in a party so large as ours any one may find instances of immorality, just as one may find in our party, as well as in the churches, drunkards, gamblers, thieves, atheists, Christians and men of all views and of all morals.

"Perhaps you might be bold enough in a political party to try to drive out any one who is not a Christian, or any one who does not measure up to a certain moral standard, just as there have been men in the past who have sought to drive men out of the movement who failed to measure up to their standard of orthodoxy. That is a matter for you to decide. But when you put forward definite charges against any individual, and especially any official of the movement, it seems to me that you ought to be absolutely sure of your facts. For that reason you ought to attend the next meeting of the N. E. C. and place before it whatever facts you may have. In fact, I think it would have been more honorable of you and certainly more loyal to the good name of the movement, had you pursued that policy instead of publishing broadcast such rumors as have come to your ear under the pretense of demanding a trial. Yours fraternally,

"(Signed) Robert Hunter."

We are sorry to have Comrade Hunter go on record as above. He explained in his letter to the N. E. C. that he was sick and unable to attend the Committee meeting. He must have been much sicker than he realized; and we fear that if he means to stand for what his letter implies he will be sicker in future, especially if his ambition leads him to run for public office.

His presumption that we "know that the N. E. C. carefully considered all the evidence that has yet been presented to it in support of charges against the National Secretary" is exceedingly naive in view of the fact that all such evidence was excluded at the May meeting when Comrades Brower, Miss Flaherty, Mother Jones and others made such persistent efforts to be heard, and when the "investigation" at the August meeting was held 800 miles away from the accusers while the accused had their expenses paid to the meeting and were heard in the absence of the accused.

The statement that he "does not know to whom we refer" implies that he, a member of the N. E. C., who was present at the May meeting, has not read nor heard read the charges then filed in writing by Brower, Flaherty and Jones.

But the attempt to make it appear that our demand for "a fair, full and open trial" for Barnes under those charges is equivalent to persecution for opinion's sake, or an attempt to "drive out of the movement" those who fail to measure up to our standard of morals or orthodoxy is entirely too raw for consumption by civilized people.

The Committee's defense of Barnes must be desperately weak when such unfair tactics are resorted to.

Thus the **Christian Socialist** is shamefully misrepresented again; for all this went into the printed Bulletin and was sent to all the branches, while our editorials against which these insinuations are directed **were refused admission to the Bulletin.**

It will be seen by our letter to Berger that we were quite willing to go before the Committee, but it appears that we were not wanted there after all.

CARR TO BERGER

(Reprinted from the National Bulletin)

"Chicago, Dec. 9, 1910.

"Victor L. Berger, care National Office.

"Dear Comrade:—You intimate in your letter to the National Executive Committee that I should appear before the committee with reference to the Barnes case. I should be glad to be present. I must lecture at Kalamazoo Sunday, but thinking you might wish me to appear before the committee, I have postponed my leaving until Sunday morning, and could see the committee Saturday afternoon or evening, or Monday afternoon, if notified to be present.

"Office phone, Central 4431.
"Home phone, Midway 2349.

"Fraternally,
"(Signed) E. E. CARR."

REPORT OF CAREY AND HILLQUIT

(Reprinted from the National Bulletin.)

Comrades Carey and Hillquit, sub-committee, reported as follows:

"To the National Committee of the Socialist Party.

"Greetings, Comrades: Early in the month of May of this year certain charges were presented against the National Secretary by Comrades Thomas J. Morgan and James H. Brower, of Illinois. The charges of Comrade Morgan were so frivolous on their face that the National Executive Committee refused to consider them. Those of Comrade Brower were of a more serious nature, but entirely lacking in specifications or proof. Our committee offered to the complainant every opportunity to substantiate his charges, but the latter persistently refused to take advantage of it.

"Upon the basis of these facts a compaign of slander and vilification has since been directed against the National Executive Committee, which is unequalled in the annals of our party history. The committee as a whole has been charged with willful suppression of charges of abuses in the National Office, and the majority of its members and many other active party members supposed to work in harmony with the committee have been charged with unfaithfulness to the movement, dishonesty and other delinquencies.

"Thomas J. Morgan is publishing a weekly paper almost entirely devoted to that purpose and furnishing effective ammunition to the enemies of our movement. The **Christian Socialist** by its editorial treatment of the affair has largely aggravated the controversy and helped to sow the seed of distrust within our movement.

"We have ignored these attacks for a long time owing to our reluctance to involve the party in a fruitless and humiliating personal dispute, especially on the eve of an important national election.

"But the matter has now assumed such proportion that in justice to the movement it cannot be ignored any longer. Either the accused or the accusers are guilty of serious misconduct against the party, and the blame must be definitely placed.

"We, therefore, respectfully request that your committee at once proceed to the election of a committee of five to investigate, first, the charges preferred by Comrades Morgan and Brower against the National Secretary; second, the conduct of the National Executive Committee in connection with the said charges; third, the conduct of Comrades Morgan, Brower and E. E. Carr, editor of the **Christian Socialist**, in connection with the said charges and the truth of the charges in the 'Provoker' against the members of the National Executive Committee and other party officials.

"The committee to meet in Chicago on February 4, 1911, at 2 p. m., and all persons involved to be summoned to appear before the committee with their proof and defenses. The expense of the investigation shall be borne by the National Office."

Adopted.

We have only a few remarks upon the above preposterous report. The reader will find in this issue a circumstantial and astounding account of the manner in which the N. E. C. conducted the "investigation" in May, in June and in August. We have the statements about this case from the lips of three witnesses and partly from the National Bulletin. If a "full, fair and open investigation" of these matters demonstrates that we have been misinformed, we shall print the correction honestly and apologize for being misled. But we have many reasons for believing that the statements we publish in this issue are substantially correct in all important particulars. And we do not propose to allow the personal ambitions of any comrades to commit the party to free love leaders. When charges like those of Brower, Miss Flaherty and Mother Jones are made, they shall not be ignored, they must be met, and every one who has helped reopen this case and bring on a real investigation, if that be possible, has done the Socialist party permanent good.

IT IS NOT A SLANDER TO DEMAND A FAIR TRIAL AND CONDEMN UNFAIR METHODS.

But it is a cowardly outrage for the N. E. C. to send out broadcast over the movement an attack on this paper while unjustly and indecently **REFUSING** to send our editorials along **TO DISPROVE THEIR FALSE CHARGES.**

And we beg to inquire of that august body, the N. E. C., what right or power it has to try Brower, Morgan or Carr on any charge whatever?

Have we a "supreme court" in our party with authority to cite comrades to appear before it for contempt?

Is the N. E. C. authorized to condemn and stab in the back any paper that dares to criticise it?

Go to, we will not be tried by the N. E. C., the N. C.; or any committee appointed by them. The law of the Socialist party does not justify such highhanded bureaucracy. The N. E. C. is becoming more ridiculous all the time. Its members must imagine that they own the party.

NO JURISDICTION

The ridiculous proposal of the N. E. C. to have the Special Committee try Brower, Morgan and Carr deserves only amused contempt.

Upon what meat doth our Caesar's feed that they have grown so great? If they think they are a bureaucracy, a supreme court or a censorship over Socialists and Socialist papers, they need to be waked up.

They have no jurisdiction over us as individuals, nor over our papers. If they are interested in our conduct, we respectfully refer them to Brower's charges and his letters to the National Committee, to various instructive issues of the Provoker and the Militant, and to this issue of the **Christian Socialist**, which contains all we have said on the subject so far.

But we will be glad to lend any assistance in our power to obtain an honest, thorough, fair trial for the National Secretary, who, under the constitution, is amenable to the N. E. C.

For this reason we shall be on hand February 4, D. V.

WHAT DO YOU SAY?

"Even though there be corruption miles deep in the National Office," writes one dear and loyal friend and supporter of the **Christian Socialist** from the east, "let it alone. It is not your place to attack it." He fears for the welfare and influence of this paper and for the party.

Well, we did let it alone for a long, long time. The main story is not new to us by years. But other papers did not take it up, even after the threefold written charges; and, after all, why isn't it as much the duty of the **Christian Socialist**, perhaps, more to risk its welfare, or even its life, in this matter as any other paper?

"There is no end to the scavenger business, let it alone," writes a loyal friend from the west.

We do not expect the Socialist party as a whole to qualify for the holiness vows of the Nazarenes just yet; but we shall insist that our National and State Secretaries, National Organizers, and National Committeemen, at least, shall be men of ordinary virtue, sobriety and efficiency. And when they are charged with the contrary, we do expect them to be fairly tried.

Another good friend writes, "Even granting that the parties are guilty as charged, there is no ground from a Socialist standpoint for interference."

This is what the N. E. C. seems to think. But if we thought that, our enthusiasm for Socialism would suddenly fall to a very low ebb.

And the managers of the **Christian Socialist** hereby freely and fully put the very life of the paper on the issues raised by the Barnes case. **WE CAN NOT MAKE OUR PLEA TO CLEAN AND HONORABLE CHURCHMEN IF IT MAKES NO DIFFERENCE WHAT GOES ON AT THE NATIONAL OFFICE.** We will not play the hypocrite even for Socialism, much less to protect corrupt and arrogant officials, if there be such at the head of our party affairs. Let the capitalist senators use whitewash if they will, but let us know the truth about our officials.

Nay, verily, comrades, if it be true that heretofore it has made no difference whether the National Office was a den of vice or not (which we do not believe, unless recently), **IT SHALL MAKE A DIFFERENCE HEREAFTER.** And on this rock more than one ambitious craft will wreck unless this warning is heeded.

What do you say, comrade? May we count on you to stand by us and help prevent this paper from being destroyed because it demands decency of character on the part of our officials? If so, your help was never needed so badly before as it is now. Let your answer be the largest list of new subscribers you ever sent.

Do not leave us to fight this battle unaided.

OTHERS IN THE FIGHT

Morgan's Provoker of Jan. 12 certainly ought to be read by every fair minded comrade. It gives a resume of the Barnes case that is terse, striking and terrible, if true, and there is much of it that we know to be true. Address 79 Dearborn street.

Texas in Line

The Militant of Tyler, Tex., is full of telling shots on the Barnes case and the N. E. C. in its issue of Dec. 31. Here is a sample:

Are These Shots Straight?

In commenting on a certain motion by Goebel, Robert Hunter says:

"It seems to me absurd to pay attention to scandal. Men circulating scandalous and malicious statements will, in time, discredit themselves. My opinion is that we should go on doing our work and if there are sharpshooters behind who are firing into our backs, let them go ahead with their work. They may injure a man here or there, but their own malice blinds their eyes to such an extent that they cannot shoot straight. In time they will be discredited by their own actions as De Leon and others have been in the past."

Aside from this apparent slur on comrades who desire a scandal cleared or its cause removed, the gist of the argument is, on th one hand if the accused is guilty the fact should be ignored—on the other, if he is innocent the scandal should continue unabated.

Judging from the antics of the N. E. C. in the matter, the nature of the charges and the probable difficulty of getting definite data from those who might possess it, the probability of the N. E. C. ever finding a correct conclusion is doubtful in the extreme.

While the Militant is not concerned as to which way the "drop" falls, further than a vain hope that the conclusions may be correct and final, it asks of Comrade Hunter are these shots straight?

U. S. courts do not examine just one side of a case.
S. P. koort did.
U. S. Court does not act behind closed doors.
S. P. koort did.
U. S. Court does not dismiss cases on hearing the defendant only.
S. P. koort did.
U. S. Court does not debar prosecutors when a case is presented.
S. P. koort did.
U. S. Court does not "decide" a case (as frivolous" or otherwise) before hearing the prosecution.
S. P. koort did.
U. S. Court does not decline prompt attention to a case because the accusing witness happens to urge an inapplicable penalty.
S. P. koort did.
U. S. Court does not resume a case it has once dismissed.
S. P. koort did.
U. S. Court does not presume to try a case that is appealed to another court.
S. P. koort did.
U. S. Court does not publicly express its confidence in the accused, untried.
S. P. koort did.
U. S. Court is autocratic.
S. P. Koort is "democratic" (?).
ABOLISH THE "KOORT."

* * *

We have received a vigorous article from Comrade Thos. J Hickey, the well-known Socialist speaker and organizer, demanding the abolishment of the N. E. C.

A motion by the Halletsville, Tex., local sent out by State Secretary Meitzen, demands that all official terms in the party be limited to two years in succession.

KALAMAZOO LOCAL RESOLVES

Whereas, One of our national executive committeemen, Goebel, has seen fit to make a motion severely criticising the editor of the **Christian Socialist** for an alleged "scandalous editorial" relative to the conducting of a certain investigation against the national secretary; and

Whereas, Said editorial was manifestly for the purpose of bringing to the attention of the rank and file certain matters that have evidently been kept in the background and that, if true, are of a most serious nature; and

Whereas, The editorial in question appeals to us as being timely and in no wise "scandalous," therefore; be it

Resolved, By local Kalamazoo in regular meeting assembled, that we commend the action of the editor of the **Christian Socialist** and pledge him our support in his fight for a clean and open movement.

By order Local Kalamazoo, Mich.,
WM. A. MIDDAUGH, Cor. Sec.
Nov. 15, 1910.

Other locals and other comrades have passed resolutions or written letters to us and to their state and national officers demanding full and fair trial for Barnes.

THE RANK AND FILE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY CAN BE TRUSTED WITH THE TRUTH. No more secret sessions, no more one sided trials and one sided reports in the Bulletin.

THE NATIONAL BULLETIN SHOULD BE ABOLISHED. Let official reports go out through the Socialist press. An official organ in the hands of a clique is a deadly peril to the movement.

JOKE ON COMRADE MOYER

A good friend of our paper urged us to write our demands on the Barnes case to other Socialist papers and keep it out of ours, and to have our matter inserted in the National Bulletin and spare the **Christian Socialist.**

As the other papers, except the Provoker and the Militant have maintained a deep and fearful

silence on this subject, we did not think it worth while to bother them; and as our written request to Barnes, Berger, Hillquit, Hunter and Spargo to send our editorials to the branches with Goebel's letter (if his were sent) was refused, and Goebel's letter and others attacking us were sent to the branches without our editorials, we did not feel like "inconveniencing" these fair-minded comrades any further. Like Brower, we know when we have had plenty of the "fair play on tap" in certain quarters.

But Comrade Moyer, the honored president of our company, who still believes in folks, thought he would try the suggestion, so he sent a letter to Barnes calling his attention to the fact that after the N. E. C. had voted not to send the Goebel letter to the branches it was sent and especially requesting the privilege in the interest of fair play of having a statement from the editor of the **Christian Socialist** printed in the Bulletin. Barnes' reply is as follows:

Chicago, Ill., Jan. 12, 1911.

Harvey P. Moyer,
Pres. The Co-operative Printing Co.,
5408 Drexel Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Dear Comrade:

Have just received your special delivery letter, from which I quote the opening paragraph, as follows:

"I have been advised that even after the National Executive Committe had voted NOT to send the Goebel letter to the branch secretaries, you published this same letter in the National Bulletin."

I must inform you that in the above you have been ill advised, or wrongly advised. The statement is not true. However, I am indebted to you for your letter which gives me the opportunity to put you in possession of the facts. I enclose herewith copies of the November and December Official Monthly Bulletin, the only ones issued during the period in question.

Speaking of the request of Comrade Carr to me, would say he also wrote to a number of the members of the National Executive Committee, and the several letters were considered in session. The committee then decided to request the National Committee to take the matter in hand and suggested the election by the National Committee of an investigation committee.

Under date of December 19, 1910, by registered mail, I informed Comrade Carr of the action taken by the National Executive Committee, and stated:

"Please consider this the first notice of the possibility of a meeting of an investigation committee on February 4, 1911. If, as I hope, the proposal of the National Executive Committee is endorsed, I shall again notify you immediately action is taken."

The National Committee is now electing the said investigation committee, and I sincerely trust that Comrade Carr will find it convenient to attend the sessions.

And as to your request for fair play, be assured, dear comrade, that so far as it is in my power that brand of treatment is always on tap in my dealings with others.

Fraternally yours,
J. MAHLON BARNES,
National Secretary.

The November Bulletin referred to shows that the majority of the N. E. C. voted **against** sending Goebel's letter to the branches—**and the same Bulletin contains the Goebel letter and was sent to the branches.**

But no Bulletin contains our editorials, though the December Bulletin referred to above shows (in the Hunter letter printed elsewhere) that we demanded on grounds of common fairness and decency, that our editorials be sent if Goebel's charges against them were. And Barnes' letter above admits the receipt of my letter to him and to a number of the members of the N. E. C. But the "brand of treatment on tap" at the National Office forbade sending out **both sides.** That would have prevented the **Christian Socialist** from receiving a cowardly stab in the back.

And this compels us and all friends of the **Christian Socialist** and of official "decency and justice" to let all the comrades know the truth.

ALASKAN SOCIALISTS

The following is from a letter by the secretary of Local Deadwood, Alaska, to explain why the local does not meet oftener than once a month:

"Some of our members live great distances from our meeting place, two at seventy-odd miles, some at thirty, and, while a few live near, the majority have to walk from two to eight miles. I had to cross a divide in a storm with the thermometer at thirty below zero to attend this meeting, a distance of at least eight miles. Even those who have no range of mountains to cross have to walk over the glaciers forming in the creek, always with the danger of getting wet feet and the possible chance of freezing them. My intention in mentioning these things is not to show up our zeal—that would only bring down the wrath of the local on my bald head—but to enable you to see conditions as they exist here and overlook any little irregularities in our reports."

The Supreme Court of North Carolina has ruled that the law forbidding white slavery is unconstitutional, which means that involuntary servitude, peonage, the sale of convicts to the highest bidder and the like may be continued in that state.

SUPPLICATION
By Edwin Markham

Give me heart-touch with all that live,
And strength to speak my word;
But if that is denied me, give
The strength to live unheard.

The International Sunday School Lessons for 1911

By Rev. Wm. A. Prosser, Pastor Hazelwood M. E. Church, Pittsburg, Pa.

GENERAL TOPIC: The History of the Decline and Fall of the Jews as an Independent Nation, or Lessons in the Necessary Evils of Monarchy.

GENERAL DIVISIONS: The 1st and 2d quarters, from January 1st to June 25th will give us the History of Judah and Israel to the Exile; and the 3d and 4th quarters, from July 2d to December 31st, will take us through the Exile and Return of Judah.

TIME AND PLACES: From 937-400 B. C. Palestine and Babylonia.

GENERAL LITERATURE: The Bible; the volumes bearing on this period in "The Historical Bible" and "The Student's Old Testament" series, by Prof. Charles Foster Kent; those in the "Semitic Series," by Prof. James A. Craig; "Capital," by Karl Marx; "Socialism," "Common Sense of Socialism," and the "Spiritual Significance of Socialism," all by John Spargo; "Socialism in Theory and Practice," by Morris Hillquit; "The Struggle for Existence," by Walter Thomas Mills; "Socialism from Genesis to Revelation," by Rev. F. M. Sprague.

There are many other useful books that might be named in this connection, but these are sufficient for our purpose. The best preparation for a proper reading and interpretation of the Bible is a pure and sympathetic heart, an unbiased mind, ability to understand good English and all the knowledge of historic and economic facts and forces you can command.

LESSON 6, FEBRUARY 5
Elijah the Prophet Appears in Israel. I Kings 17.
Read Chapters 17, 18, 19 and 21 of I Kings

Chapter 17 ushers us into a new world. Beginning with this chapter we are reading a different class of literature, looking into new faces and rubbing elbows with another sort of men. The formal notices of previous chapters give place to narrative of exceptionally graphic interest and power and from autocratic kings we pass to holy prophets, from men of policy and blood to men of principle and justice. From now on for 34 years we hear little of the kingdom of Judah, and the kings of Israel are overshadowed by the personalities of Elijah and Elisha, the men of God. For the next two months we are to study the personalities and characters, messages and activities, conflicts and results of these rugged, uncompromising servants of Jehovah.

We are in a new world of principles as well as of letters and personalities. For the first time in the history of the Jews we shall look upon men and principles in marked contrast and desperate opposition. In the persons and conflicts of the kings and the prophets we behold not personal interests and opportunities, but **representatives of class systems, class interests and class conflicts.** The battles fought, the principles involved, the interests at stake, the motives at play are not those of individuals but of representatives of systems and classes. The kings represented monarchy and a materialistic civilization, and the prophets a theocracy and a moral and spiritual civilization. We are face to face not with petty personalities and local squabbles, but with the representatives of world-wide principles. If we fail to see this, we shall fail to understand the events of this and succeeding lessons.

National Conditions.

When Elijah comes upon the scene of action the nation stood trembling on the brink of ruin. Politically, economically, morally and religiously the nation was in a deplorable and menacing condition. In the short period of 65 years kingship had gone from a civil and elective position to a military and hereditary job. It had risen from subserviency to the people to absolute lordship over the people. The king was the civil, military and ecclesiastical head of the nation. His desires were the laws and his will the highest court of the realm. He could take the national resources to build a magnificent heathen temple for his queen and maintain an army of 850 prophets for her pleasure; he could persecute, imprison and kill the true prophets of Jehovah from fancy or hatred; and he could devise the cruel death of a helpless farmer and confiscate his vineyard without dread of retribution from the people. Ahab was the god of the nation, the logical outcome of monarchical principles.

Politically the little kingdom had passed from an independent nation to one of foreign alliances. It depended no longer upon God and justice, upon national patriotism and the volunteer soldier, but upon standing armies and mercenary alliances. It seems incredible, but the histories give it as a cold matter of fact that this insignificant empire maintained a standing army of about 1,500,000. If this is true, what a luminous commentary on the charge of the prophets that the nation had forsaken Jehovah in favor of the king, and that truth and justice were made to yield to diplomacy and force as the foundation principles of the nation. Intrigue and sword, not Jehovah, were its political and civil refuge and strength.

In view of this it is little cause for wonder that the nation stood on the verge of a famine. It was ill prepared to withstand an economic shut-down of three years' duration. The military and social system of the kings kept the nation in poverty under normal conditions, and what would it be now under the pressure of three years of drought? Imagine, if you can, what a standing army of 1,500,000 means economically to a big nation, and more especially to a small nation. An army is composed of men, of "the flower of the nation," of the best wealth produces, and it would mean in this case 1,500,000 men withdrawn from productive toil and a consequent loss of millions of wealth to the nation per annum. The indirect loss was nearly as great as the direct loss. It was a drain on the workers and kept them in poverty, for they had to produce sufficient wealth for themselves and a surplus to feed, clothe and house this vast army of idle parasites. To this must be added the taxes, drawn largely from the workers, necessary to secure and maintain munitions of war, besides maintaining the courts, temples, the royal family and special classes. Add them up and consider a moment and you can readily imagine the economic condition of the nation and why a threatened famine sent terror to the soul of king and subject.

If nothing were said concerning the religious condition of the nation it could be easily imagined. But a good deal is said about it and all indicates that it was rotten to the core. It could hardly be otherwise. It was simply a reflection of the economic and political situation and a conservator of these interests. The religious system in vogue was the product of the court, and bore the image of those on the throne. It was a class religion, of, by and for the king. It was absolutely devoid of all semblance of moral precept and power as all class religion is. It consisted wholly of meaningless pomp, ritual and ceremony, and permitted, even encouraged, unspeakable licentious practices. It ran, as all such religion does, into rigid uniformity, ecclesiastical narrowness and tyranny and all sorts of immoral doings. It went to church on holy days and holidays, and to hell every other day. It blunted the sense of moral obligation, destroyed the love of justice and bred a reeking mass of moral filth. The national religion being a product of the king joined hands with the king in leading the nation to an infamous bottomless abyss.

Elijah Cometh

This was the hour of Elijah's advent into the nation. These were the conditions and these the people he came to meet and contend against. Let us follow him closely in his movements, study his motives, weigh his character and listen attentively to his messages.

He comes into the nation face to face with the king suddenly, like a thunder-bolt from a clear sky. Farrar says: "Suddenly, with abrupt impetuosity, the mighty figure of Elijah the Prophet bursts upon the scene like lightning on the midnight: so far as the sacred page is concerned, he, like Melchizedek, is 'without father, without mother, without descent.' He appears before us unannounced as 'Elijah the Tishbite of the inhabitants of Gilead.' Such a phenomenon as Jezebel explains and necessitates such a phenomenon as Elijah. 'The loftiest and sternest spirit of the true faith is raised up,' says Dean Stanley, 'face to face with the proudest and fiercest spirit of the old Asiatic Paganism.'"

Elijah's first appearance was no less sudden than later appearances and disappearances. Judging from the meager accounts before us his movements were swift, secret, but always in the right direction. The swiftness of his movements and the bluntness of his messages always surprised, startled and angered the mighty Ahab. At the opening of our lesson Elijah came suddenly before the king, unknown and unannounced, delivered his brief, pointed, terrible message, and as suddenly disappeared. For three years he was gone and could not be found, and then suddenly appeared before his royal highness to announce the end of the drought and to challenge him to a test of systems. At the end of the test he again disappeared only to appear again suddenly before his lordship when he stood in Naboth's vineyard exulting over his victory. And then, soon after this, he quietly and finally disappeared from earth, being carried into heaven by a whirlwind.

Personal Appearance

Tradition tells us Elijah was a man of short stature and of rugged countenance. He was a lord of hair—the thick black locks of the Nazarite (for such he probably was), streamed over his shoulders like a lion's mane, giving him a fierce and unkempt aspect. His brown limbs, otherwise bare, were covered with a heavy mantle, the skin of a camel or a sheep worn with the rough wool outside, and tightened round his loins by a leathern girdle.

This agrees with the text. He was Elijah the Tishbite of the sojourners of Gilead. He was a Hebrew by birth, born probably in Galilee, but moved with his parents when a boy to the mountainous region of Gilead, east of the Jordan. Here in the wilds of this region, he grew up to manhood. The marks of the wilderness were stamped upon his face and upon his soul. His attire, habits and character were the product of nature. Like John the Baptist, he lived close to nature, fed himself on nature's products and rose through nature to nature's God. And like him, he knew man little and feared him less, because he knew God intimately and feared Him more. Elijah was an ancient Highlander, a typical mountaineer, rugged and unkempt in appearance, but honest, holy and fearless in soul.

Motive

There is one quality in his moral make-up we must understand if we would understand the man. That is his motive. He was a man of a single unadulterated moral motive. Elijah was the leading spirit of his age and has influenced every subsequent age. He has always stood as one of the Titans in literature and religion; has always been quoted as a type of the true preacher; has always been held to be an example of the noblest moral qualities; and yet it is not because of any new or startling things he said, but solely because of his pure motive and undaunted courage. Elijah's motive was the secret of his heroic career.

What was his motive? Sublimely spiritual. He was moved by moral and spiritual determinism. Moral forces and considerations were the springs of his actions. Neither the inspiration to act nor the end sought smacked in any sense of the material. It was God and justice that were the Alpha and Omega to him. He knew, or he acted as though he knew, that the adoption of spiritual and moral principles by a nation always resulted in material wellbeing. If only the kingdom of God is established these things—food, clothing and shelter—will be added. Thus Elijah came to the king in the name of God and demanded not a reform, but a return—a national return—to Jehovah and His laws. His very first words to Ahab were: "As Jehovah, the God of Israel liveth, **before whom** I stand," and they reveal a divinely created motive and a sense of moral obligation to God and man. They reveal a consciousness of the real presence of the living God, the idea of an irresistible mandate from God for a specific work, and carry us into the secret sources of the courageous and powerful ministry of this sturdy, grandly independent and brave man. They mark him out as deeply conscious of being a representative, not of himself, nor of a special section or class, but of God and His kingdom. And in the strength of this consciousness he sallied forth to speak his message and to do his work.

This is the motive that overcomes the world. Anything less crumbles, like a rope of sand, before opposition. A pure, unselfish motive, prominent in consciousness, intensified by intelligent convictions and sustained by a sense of righteousness makes of any man a heroic servant of God and the people. He is a tower of strength to the weak and a terror to arrogant kings and exploiting parasites. Men thus motived are the kind of men the cause of justice has ever demanded. It is the kind Christ called to follow Him. It is the kind that is needed today. The proletarian movement of our age demands men and women who, like Queen Esther, Joan of Arc, Micaiah, Elijah, Paul, Luther, Patrick Henry, Karl Marx, have fired their souls at the altars of justice, and stood up in the face of kings and demanded liberty or death. These are the souls that move things and accomplish results, and the world of today needs them, needs them in state and church, on the bench and at the bar; in industry and business, factory and mill; home and school; needs them everywhere to stand out against exploitation and for justice at the risk of personal interests and life itself. And leaders in any age and in any sphere of activity, economic, political or ecclesiastical, who truly lead God's down-trodden hosts must be men motived in righteousness and gripped by moral determinism.

Message and Famine

It was under the impelling power of spiritual determinism that Elijah met the king and shot at him, without preamble or peroration, the dismal message of a coming drought. The king had not been accustomed to have preachers approach him unannounced and unrobed, as did Elijah, and preach to him a gospel that had in it only disaster for himself and his nation. It quite stunned him. Only one other man, Micaiah the Prophet, had dared to do it, and for his presumption he got the dungeon and the bread and water of affliction (2 Chron. 18). But, whether the king liked it or no, and whether it spelled weal or woe to him, Elijah delivered his soul-stirring message: "There shall not be dew nor rain these years, but according to my word." The king knew what this meant. He saw in it a sore famine, a hungry nation, a possible revolt and a Divine judgment for sin. It staggered him; but before he could regain his senses to remonstrate, plead for mercy or repent, the prophet was gone. The king and nation were left severely alone to their agony, to eat the fruit of their doings.

Mark well that the drought and the consequent famine were not the doings of Elijah. He had no causal connection with them in the least. The Scripture under consideration does not claim he had. Chapters 17:1 and 18:1 indicate strongly that he was simply a mouthpiece to declare what was coming and what would issue. The drought was a natural phenomenon, a product of nature, and could therefore be regarded as coming from God. **But the famine was an unnecessary evil, a result of a social system of exploitation** that left the common people helplessly and hopelessly poor and could rightly be looked upon as a Divine Judgment for sin. Elijah saw and felt these things and boldly declared them to the king and nation. Elijah was simply a seer, he saw things, and fearlessly "spoke out in meetin'" what he saw.

Remember, too, that according to Elijah, poverty and famine, national poverty and famine, are the results of sin and a Divine Judgment for sin. This is precisely what Elijah told Ahab in chapter 18:18. Said he: "I have not troubled Israel (i. e., caused the drought and famine) but thou and thy father's house, in that ye have forsaken the commandment of Jehovah, and thou hast followed the Baalim." This is a truth we need to learn. Poverty and suffering are not of God, but of sin. The natural world, with its inestimable abundance for the wants of man, is a standing rebuke to the assumption that they are of God. General poverty in the past and especially in the present, other things considered, is conclusive proof of a flagrant violation of justice in the distribution of wealth and a protest of God's eternal and righteous order against a nation that permits the operation of such a hellish social system that the poverty of the masses is inevitable.

This hoary with age truth has been strikingly set before us in a beautiful modern garb by Prof. Henry Drummond. He said: "The work of the Avenger is a necessity. It is part of God's philanthropy. There are hells on earth into which no breath of heaven can ever come; these must be swept away. There are social soils in which only unrighteousness can flourish; these must be broken up. And that is the work of the Day of Vengeance. When is that day? It is now. Who is the Avenger? Law. What law? Criminal law, sanitary law, social law, natural law. Wherever the poor are trodden upon or tread upon one another; wherever the air is poison and the water foul; wherever want stares, and vice reigns, and rags rot—there the Avenger takes his stand. The very nature of things is God's Avenger; the very story of civilization is the history of Christ's Throne."

Famine and suffering are ugly things, hard to endure and bitter to the soul, but they are "part of God's philanthropy." These are painful but nevertheless gracious judgments. They are effective means in human evolution. Droughts and famines, panics and hunger teach us more sense in a day than "good times" do in a century. Sometimes a famine does more to make men think and bring them to their knees than a dozen feasts. Contraction of the stomach is many times the only thing that softens the heart and expands the head. And in the order of God, when peace and prosperity fail to render us obedient to righteousness, fail to make us law-abiding citizens of the natural order in which we live, God sends the famine to do the work. **God works as effectively through economics as through metaphysics,** through the stomach as through the brain of man in carrying out His Eternal Purpose.

Elijah's message of the coming famine gave the king great concern; and justly. Famines have in them disturbing elements. They many times lead to swift and terrible revolutions. They are dangerous things to monarchs and plutocrats, to political and economic systems of exploitation. They are dreaded today no less than yesterday by those responsible for them. Many a king has lost his head and many a dynasty has fallen through a national panic. Each recurring famine will be feared more and more by the kings, for each will lead the people nearer to the knowledge of the truth involved, and nearer to a united demand for the abolition of the system that makes them inevitable. When the famines, one or a thousand, shall have done their work, and we shall have learned our lessons, relief, rain in abundance will come. Down will go Baalim and up will go Jehovah. When the common people shall see equally clear with the prophet that poverty is the result of a viciously sinful social system, cruelly unjust, anti-religious and anti-social, it will fall never to rise again.

Having delivered his message Elijah disappeared for three years to wait for the famine to do its work. Following Divine direction, which, in this instance, was the path of safety and of least resistance, he dwelt for a time by a small brook, Cherith, on the east side of Jordan, and was fed by the ravens. When the waters of the brook were dried up and the ravens, no doubt, gone elsewhere, he sought and found an asylum in a widow's home in Zarephath "which belongeth to Sidon." It was in these places and under these circumstances he was protected and fed, and where he studied the problems of the kingdom, learned lessons of faith in God and gained courage for his future work. The whole chapter is intended, not to fix our eyes on miracles, but on the man of God; and how, in the faithful discharge of his duties, God cared for him in one way or another until his work was done.

Hated

Elijah was both hated and feared by Ahab. It is little wonder. They stood for diametrically opposite systems and interests. There had always been an antagonism between the kings and prophets, and it now reached its culmination in the mighty persons of Ahab and Elijah, who were each the strongest representatives of the two opposing tendencies. Ahab was the representative of the monarchy and was intent only upon making Israel a strong political power and upon establishing his own authority, and he did not scruple to stoop to the use of any contemptible means to accomplish his cherished end. On the other hand, Elijah was the representative of a Divine Government, and was bent only upon establishing the authority of God over the nation. They represented two distinct and irreconcilable systems and interests. It was natural, inevitable, that there should be hatred and conflict between them. Ahab had about as much love for Elijah as the devils ever have for angels.

Here we see the old and universal law in full swing. **Class interests always create class conflicts.** These class clashes are inevitable so long as class interests prevail. Those who will live and battle for righteousness shall suffer persecution. The only way to stop the one is to destroy the other. The establishment of a universal commonwealth, with the brotherhood of man and community of interests, is our only salvation for peace and plenty.

Questions

Do we need today a prophet, a movement, to champion the cause of Democracy? Judging from sacred and secular history, what should be the organizing and impelling motive of such a movement? Are the kingdoms of Baal and Jehovah, Mammon and Jesus Christ, Capitalism and Socialism, identical? Can their principles and interests be harmonized? Is poverty inherently and constitutionally a part of God's order, or the result of a sinful social system? Is conflict between the followers of Mammon and Christ, Capitalism and Socialism, natural and inevitable? For which kingdom do you stand? Are you with Ahab the king, or with Elijah the Prophet?

For Young Crusaders

Conducted by M. Kathryn Spiers, 901 W. Main St., Richmond, Va.

The Truant Stars

By Rolla V. Houghton, in The Progressive Woman.

I.

Soon as the sun sinks down
And hides himself in seeming sleep
Behind the banks of brown.
The little star folk first peep out,
Then scamper all the sky about,
And frolic while he is away.

II.

They think the sun would mind
Because he shines so fierce and bright
They cannot see how kind
A heart he has; and do not guess
He hides to draw them nearer, yes,
Then, smiling, gives them light to play
And frolic while he is away.

"Whatsoever Things Are True!"

What real child is not inmostly delighted with the idea of "fooling" some one? And don't we, big and little, feel proud when we have shown ourselves too bright and keen to be "fooled?"

This whole, "big, wide, beautiful, wonderful world," wears the look, to me, of a divinely planned kindergarten, intended to teach us, secretly and silently, as all God's most wonderful processes are wrought (see Isaiah 45:15), to tell or detect the seeming from the real. We are kept right at it, from the days when we discover that the stick, which looks so crooked when partly under water, is really straight, on to the time when we are able to see for ourselves that it's really, truly, so, that the world is a big ball, going round the sun, instead of being flattish with the sun traveling around it. Later, if our studies or life-work take us in that direction, we find out that the sight is in the eye, and not outside of it; the sound in the ear, and not in the air; and so on, without end. There is plenty of occupation for that detective instinct of ours, and far more wonderful things to find out than were ever seen between the covers of a novel.

Yet, so many people learn all these things in the realm of nature and remain so credulous and stupid, and easily fooled in spiritual things, such as concern the people as a whole, or society.

What? Yes, everything that really, deeply concerns society as a whole, is spiritual in its essence, or soul; and to see things as they really are, in their right relation to other things, to be able to detect the really important from the trifling or temporary, calls for our highest, most truly human powers, and is a most exciting game. We are going to learn it—you and I! That will give us a lot to do, and, as Kipling says:

"Kiddies and grown-up's too-oo-oo,
If we haven't enough to do-oo-oo,
We get the hump—
Camelious hump—
The hump that is black and blue!

That is from Kipling's "Just So, Stories," and if you haven't them, I advise you to put them right down on your next Christmas or birthday list. My favorite is "How the Camel Got His Hump!" When you write me tell me yours.

Hurrah for Tennessee!

If little six-year-old Zed Aydelott, of Greenfield, Tenn., is always as prompt to answer every call as he was this one of mine for a letter, his state will some day be proud of him. I have sent him my picture as a token of Aunt Kathryn's appreciation of his nice little letter—the first and only one, at this writing. Just to help us get acquainted, and encourage other timid ones, I will send one of my photos on a post card to the first one writing from any state, and after that till further notice, to every tenth letter writer from any state. Write again, Zed!

Write to Me

I want to hear from Young Crusaders of all ages, especially those of high school age, from fifteen upwards. Are you studying civics, like my own two eldest? What kind of teachers have you? Do they ever show any understanding of Socialism, or do they mention it only to misrepresent it, or confuse it with anarchy? If they do this last, ask them to explain the different definitions of the two things, in Webster's dictionary. Do you have public playgrounds where you live, and are you required, or is it suggested that you write compositions about them? Whenever the topics for your compositions are left more or less to you, do you choose subjects that require study of society conditions, and progress and improvements in those conditions? Do you have debating societies? Are you studying the Constitution? Do you know that a constitutional convention, to revise that sacred document, is proposed and has been asked for by the legislatures of nearly enough states to force Congress (or the Senate, the only branch opposed), to take steps to that end? Do you realize the tremendous significance and importance of these facts? Let me hear from you.

AUNT KATHRYN.